

621 kin shared the hero's lot in this way, I was given an incredible list
 783 extending, in some cases, to the above mentioned five removes —
 and on both the man's side and his wife's. Such wholesale purification would have disrupted the life of several villages but, on further inquiry, it appeared that those at a distance "felt the power would not reach so far." A second cousin, or even a third, living in the same village would "think it safer" to bathe and go saltless but a sister who was far away might take no precautions at all.

431 The same considerations applied to the gift giving. At the war
 602 purification an elaborate dance was performed by paid dancers, the pay being furnished by the hero's kin. There were no stated obligations." "If his father had nothing to give, an uncle might do it all." Or even a "distant uncle" *if he lived near*. The underlying idea seems to be that this payment was an investment in blessing. The hero, when he became a "ripe man" would enjoy a material success, either as a hunter or as a paid singer and his neighboring kin would naturally share in the proceeds. The one who had given most would be repaid accordingly.

621 We have pictured the geographic group, selected by circumstance
 602 and economic necessity, as the most important one. But the duties toward this group did not preclude relationships with other kin and these were kept up, often under great difficulties. Ties with the nearest kin, such as parents or children, were not allowed to lapse no matter what the distance and other relatives when they became neighbors, were immediately included in the gift giving circle. (I. 1. D; I. 4. B, I. 6. D. 2; I. 7. B. 2). But there was a general range of duties to be observed toward any class of relatives, geography permitting, and these may be taken up for each class separately.

593 SIBLING CLASS. Siblings were brought up in the same one-room
 857 house but a sex distinction began very early. Boys followed the
 [863] men, learning to hunt and to till the ground, girls kept with the women, gathering food, fetching wood and water, grinding corn and making baskets. The fear of the menstruating woman caused a separation between the two groups so that even husband and wife were seldom together during the day. Boys played together and, when they wanted more companionship, sought out their male cousins who generally lived near. Girls formed a group with their female cousins.

593 Between brother and sister as between the remoter "siblings" of opposite sex, there was a mild respect relationship. No brother and sister would stay alone in the house at night or be seen out together. Any sister had a special duty to prepare food for her brother, even

Youth

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child was able to walk, it was carried on the mother's hip. When the mother went foot gathering, children of an active age were left at home with the grandmother. 854

Children went naked until the age of eight or ten. After this, the boys wore breechclouts and the girls a double apron, like their elders. Until this age, which was also that of taking up a few adult duties, both sexes played together making dolls of twigs tied together with corn husk. 857 ● [291]

"We went to a sunny place and played husbands and wives with our dolls. We girls would make our dolls grind corn. The boys would take their dolls and say, 'We go hunting.' 'Well, go,' said the wives. Then the boys would hunt all around the village and find a deer bone. 'Here is a deer for you.' Once we played a doll was dead and we were crying, but my mother stopped us. 'You mustn't talk about the dead.'"

Children hunted about the camp, generally roasting the small animals they killed on the spot. Boys might dig rats out of their holes. After the rains all children chased the birds while their feathers were too wet to fly and caught them in their hands.

Girls played "jackstones", (p. 147) and practised double ball but did not gamble until they were older. Boys practised kickball and shooting at a mark. Both girls and boys practised daily on the race track, while the adult relatives arranged children's races, umpired them and bet on them.

During this early period before the age of ten or so a good deal of consideration was shown children. Girls were not allowed to pick cactus; "they are too young, thorns would hurt them". They need not go through the privations which their parents endured during a purification. "Children cannot suffer." The whole family showed them a great deal of affection. If a small child in a Papago house is not actively playing, it is generally in the arms of someone, male or female. The children run freely among their elders without rebuke. The writer has seen a child interfere constantly with the work of a potter without receiving more than a smile. 855

When taking texts, the writer was seriously inconvenienced by two boys romping through the small room and drowning out the informant's low voice. She asked the interpreter if it would be possible to stop the boys and he replied, "I don't think so. They are his (the informant's) grandchildren." Therefore, the text taking stopped occasionally, while the grandfather smilingly waited for the noise to lessen (4).

Children habitually run among the dancers in a ceremony and talk and about during the singing. One informant, telling of an

855 important rite to stop an epidemic, mentioned how a group of children followed the shaman and clutched at his paraphernalia. "We don't mind those things. We know the children don't understand." At the dance around the enemy trophy where, if ever, fierceness is to be expected, several of the songs are concerned with Elder Brother's directions to mothers for lulling the babies who are tired with the dancing.

At present, when there is no hiding from the enemy, there is little in Papago daily life which demands the subduing of children. Nothing in the hut is breakable. There are two or three pots in the outdoor kitchen and some tools hanging from the roof out of reach. Otherwise, the child may feel quite as free in his surroundings as the adult. Since noise from the child does not shame the adult in public, as it would in our culture, there is little occasion for rebuke.

857 Children made a very matter-of-course entry into adult duties.
868 There was so much to do that as soon as a child was able to do anything whatever, he was allowed to do it. The writer saw an interesting example of training in this respect. A family and its guests were gathered in a hut on a cold night and the door was open. The person nearest the door and unoccupied was a three year old child. One of the men guests, a very distant relative, said to the child, "Close the door." The door was heavy and the sill high. The child made an attempt and then stopped. The man repeated smiling, "Close the door." The child moved it a few inches and started to cry. No one sympathized with him. The quiet direction, "Close the door," continued until he had moved it a few inches at a time and finally finished the task. There was no clamor of approval and petting. The child had done his part of the evening's work and came back to the fire with the rest.

Children were graduated from this sort of task to that of running errands and especially carrying gifts of food, often for long distances. As soon as they could manage the distance, girls followed their mothers on food gathering expeditions and boys followed their fathers hunting. When a girl was ten years old, she might be grinding all the corn for the family and a boy might be shooting the jackrabbits for their food. At fourteen a girl should be a fully qualified housekeeper, since she was nearly ready for marriage. A boy should be a swift runner and attending the council whence he might be sent out as messenger, though not on important occasions. He would be only beginning his training as a warrior and a hunter. Though he married later than the girl, this training might continue some time after marriage.

600 In spite of their freedom as children, young people were expected,

x₁₅₉
321 dark but there are white lines in the east. Those are the white hairs of Elder Brother who made us. He put them there so we can know when day is coming and we can go out to look for food.

x₁₅₉
342 We crawled out the little door. I remember that door so well. I always crawled out of doors till long after I was a married woman and we stopped being afraid of enemies. Then we made houses with white men's doors. But this one was little and when we came out we could see the houses of my relatives nearby among the cactus, and the girls coming out of them, too, to get water.

x₁₅₉
291 Those girls had nothing on above the waist. We did not wear clothes then. They had strips of hand woven cloth in front and behind, tied around their waists with a string, for we did not know how to sew them together. [439] Only deerskins the men knew how to sew, but our people had traded this cloth from Mexico and we thought we were very fine. And with good red paint above the waist, it was fine. And warm too. But the girls did not put on their paint in the early cold morning. Then they had to work.

x₁₅₉
312 There was no water at Mesquite Root; no water at all except what fell from the clouds, and I am telling about the month of Pleasant Cold when the rains were long over. Then our pond had dried up. If we wanted to stay in our houses, the girls had to run for water far, far up the hills and across the flat land to a place called Where the Water Whirls Around. That was a low flat place, a good place for corn, and the water ran down to it from all the hills. A big water hole was there full of red mud. Oh yes, our [24] water was always red. It made the corn gruel red. I liked that earth taste in my food. Yes, I liked it.

x₁₅₉
482 The girls used to crawl laughing out of the houses, with their long black hair hanging to their waists, and they would pick up their carrying nets. 286 Fine nets we used to have in those days, all dyed with red and blue. Shaped like a cone they were, with tall red sticks to keep them in shape. When [332] the net was on a girl's back those red sticks would stand up on either side of her face. We used to think a pretty young girl looked best that way. That was how the men liked to see her.

x₁₅₉
● 321 I was too little to have a net than, or even clothes. But I used to help my cousins put the jars in their nets and to put little sticks between them so they would not break. The boys would stand laughing around and if [609] there was one who was not a relative the girls would joke with him. They would throw gravel at him and run away, and once a girl said to one of my cousins: "Give me that male thing you have and I will put it between my water jars instead of a stick." So we called that man Between-the-Jars. Yes, that is how we joked in the old days.

how hungry you are. Wait till it has scum on it. So you will be a runner and not a fat man." ^{159x}₂₆₄

When we had finished we did not wash the dishes. How could we, with no water! We scooped food out with our knuckles. The boys used two knuckles because men have time to eat. We girls used three because women must hurry and work. When we were through it was only my father who could wipe his fingers between his toes. That was because he was a warrior and had killed enemies. The rest of us wiped them on the ground and rubbed our hands together. I do not like water on my dishes even now. They feel so smooth. [70]

Then we made our toilet. We washed our faces in a little cold water, but we did not bathe. Rubbing yourself with earth does just as well. Then the older girls painted themselves with beautiful red paint, all in dots and splashes. I went out to play. ^{159x}₆₁₅₃₀₂

I played with the boys and girls who were children of my uncles. Brothers and sisters, we call them. We had no clothes, any of us, but we were not cold. We went to a sunny place and made ourselves dolls of mesquite leaves tied with strings of corn husk for arms and legs and head. We had a little stone for the grinding slab and some sand for the corn. The boys had men dolls and they would take them away and say: "We go hunting." "Well, go," said the wives. Then the boys would hunt all around the village and find a deer bone. "Here is a deer for you." ^{159x}₈₅₇₂₉₁₅₂₄

Sometimes the boys went to get rats. They poked them out of the holes and hit them with sticks. Then we roasted them on sticks with the skins on. Good food, that used to be! ₂₆₂

Sometimes we went to run races. We had a good racetrack in our village. Our men had cleared a road that ran across the flat land as far as you could see, and every day they swept it with greasewood branches to keep off the thorns. They had a song: ^{159x}₅₂₆₅₃₃

The hawk made the race-track
And on it we won
A-a-ah!

We ran with the hawk
And won a Hawk's heart
A-a-ah!

All our young men and girls practised on that racetrack so they could run fast against the other villages. We children ran, too. Every day I ran until I was ten years old and had to be doing the house work.

child was born, because the baby had hot breath for days and days before it died. 159^x
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I always knew when my children were to die. I am one who knows things, because, even though they took my crystals out, there was always something in me. Once, when my baby was sick, I dreamed that I was passing through a wash. A woman sat there with a child, and its hair was blowing back as though it was in the water, only the wash was dry. I said: "What are you doing here?" "We live here." I knew that meant something strange was coming. 159^x
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Another time I dreamed that someone who seemed a medicine man again led me to a wash. It was full of babies and children, big and little, all crawling around over each other, like worms. "What does it mean?" I asked that man who took me. "It means all your children are going to die. You will have no children at your house."

But I saved one child, a girl. I gave her to my mother to nurse, because an old woman can nurse with us, as well as young ones. That girl grew up. She used to sit on my head when I was running along with the carrying basket, sometimes with another baby on top of it. I took her out to the hills with me when I was gathering fruit and cactus. 159^x

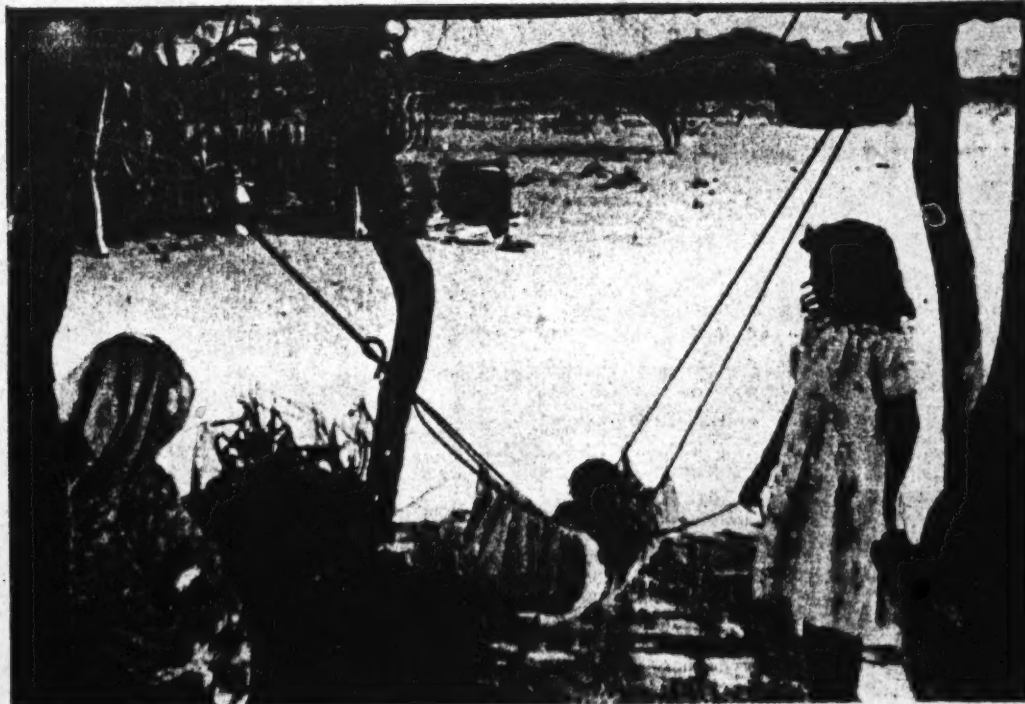
"Never step over a snake," I told her, "nor even the trail of a snake for you will have the vomiting sickness. Don't step on a horned toad, it will make you foot sore. And you must learn the difference between the big ants who are the medicine men and who sting and the little kind ants that will not hurt you." [869]
[825]

When all our family camped for days and days, to bake the cholla buds, we made a little enclosure of boughs for our children. "Stay there and do not play hard. You will be thirsty and drink up our water." So they made dolls out of leaves and played at grinding corn with sand and little flat stones. Sometimes the children brought us something to eat. In the Month of Rain, when the birds got their feathers wet in the thunder storms so they hopped along the ground and could not fly, then our children would chase them and catch them in their hands. Doves and woodpeckers they brought in to us, and we roasted them on a spit with the feathers on. 159^x
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857 ●

We like children, you know. We talk to them quietly and tell them what to do, but we do not scold. When our children are running about the house, in and around everything, we let them run. If they break something, then that thing is just broken. We do not say anything. Sometimes they run across the circle when we are dancing. Or when the medicine man is going about with his branch of thorns, removing sickness, they might try to grab it. No one would speak about that. We like them to be happy. 159^x
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PLATE XII

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[p. 120]

Raymond H. Spicer

UNDER THE RAMADA

Sister swings baby in his hammock while the mother works. Olla at right holds drinking water for the family

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 PaPaGo NU28

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may hear from grandfather some of the old Papago songs or stories and lectures on the virtues of industry and honesty. The baby soon learns that grandfather has authority over everyone in the household, even the baby's own parents. By the time he is old enough to run errands, he will show to his grandfather the respect and obedience due to the head of the house. 603 854

It should not be assumed from the emphasis on the mother's and grandparents' relationships to the baby that the father is merely a figure in the background. A man shares very little in his offspring's training in the first four years, for he must be away from the house most of the day. When he is at home, the father may watch the baby for short periods if all the women are busy, but if the child needs special attention, the women take over. Away from home, though the small Papago is primarily his mother's charge, the father is perfectly willing to help; in town or at the fiesta, if the mother has other cares at the moment, the baby is not infrequently seen in his father's arms. 593 854

A father shares the pleasure of all the Papago in having children and is free to express it. Tots reciprocate their father's love, and many show great joy when he comes home in the evening to play with them. The baby also early becomes aware of the father as the family protector. The child and his mother rarely leave the village unless the father accompanies them. A mother sometimes quiets her child by warning him of supernatural dangers that may come while the father is away and unable to care for them; the child knows that it is his father who talks to strangers and drives away coyotes that prowl too near the house. At night the little one knows the intimate physical protection of both parents, for he sleeps between them.

Frequently the little child is assigned to the care of a sister or girl cousin of from eight to eighteen. (If there is no girl in this age range, a smaller girl or even a boy acts as a guardian, and boys seem to attach no stigma of effeminacy to the task.) The guardian shortly comes to perform for the baby almost every service that the mother does except nursing, and if she is left in complete charge, as she occasionally is, the girl will direct and correct the baby exactly as his mother would. The relationship between the guardian child and the baby is an intimate one; if the guardian is not much older, she may show impatience with her charge, but the two usually get on well. 857 854

Other members of the household may be adult aunts, uncles, or cousins of various degrees. With the women the baby's relations will not be very close until after he is weaned. These women will tend him when mother or grandmother is otherwise occupied and will indulge or correct him as she does. After the baby walks and joins a play group of his siblings or cousins, the 602 854

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602 women will have more supervision over him, particularly if the mother has
854 another child. The men are friendly with the little child but never intimate.

From the beginning the child is strongly aware that these people are relatives. He is taught to use the proper kinship terms and slowly comes to see the lines of authority in the household.

854 The Papago baby's contacts with other children begin early if he is not the
851 first child in the household. Small children are occasionally called on to watch the baby or swing him in his cradle. Otherwise youngsters ignore him, but now and then they evince a lively interest in him for a few minutes. They want to handle him and perhaps even to tease him, evidently out of curiosity to see what the baby will do rather than out of malice. The older boys of the household have almost nothing to do with the baby.

When a child begins to walk, he is likely to be intrusted to a play group of children from three to eight years of age, who will see that he does not wander away or hurt himself. The group will probably be of girls, as boys range too far from the house to watch over the baby.

Because the children in the play group to which the toddler is attached are older, they are in a position to exercise authority over the baby, and, thoroughly aware of this, they may try to dictate to the smaller one. If they can persuade him, it is legitimate for them to do so, but, if the baby does not wish to comply, he has only to raise his voice in protest; an adult will intervene at once to remind the children that the baby must be pleased.

OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

854 Within a few weeks or even days of his birth, a Papago child will see most
574 of the people of his village, the majority of whom are probably related to him. Interhousehold visiting is not typical of the Papago, but in the course of co-operative work, of gift exchange, and of transmitting news families have rather frequent contacts. The child will also come in contact with the medicine man at birth and curing rites and with people from other villages at fiestas.

755 The relationship of the child with the medicine men and singers is not un-
854 pleasant. The birth ceremony previously described is simple and contains nothing frightening. The child will probably meet the medicine man next when he or some member of the family is ill. The sick child has nothing to fear from the medicine man, for the shaman never hurts a baby. He may rub or pat his body and suck at his flesh; he will surely blow smoke over him; he may sing and wave eagle feathers over him. Always he urges the little one to sleep and rest. If curing singers are called in, they speak kindly to the sick child and tell him they hope their songs will make him well. The songs prob-

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ably have a relaxing quality, and the baby may be soothed by the monotony of the rattles. The loving attention of his mother or father always by his side, the friendly or even gay talk of all adults present, and the painless treatment of the shaman produce an atmosphere of reassurance. Children are never afraid to go to the medicine man. 755
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Having a small baby seldom keeps a Papago mother at home. She bundles her baby up and takes him with her to every fiesta, where she sits on the side-lines, chats with other young mothers, and watches the dancers. Possibly she takes the child to the home of friends in the village. At night the mother carries him into the church; while she sits on the floor and joins the other women in singing and praying, the baby, rolled in a blanket, lies on the floor beside other sleeping children. 854

By the time he is two and a half years old, the Papago child loves the color and excitement of the fiesta, where he meets and plays with his small cousins from other villages. He is allowed to run around the dance ground under the watchful eye of his mother, grandmother, or aunt, and one of his sisters may dance with him or teach him to dance with another small child of the opposite sex. 857

During the fiesta the small child learns of a new danger. He finds that men, perhaps his father and uncles, at times, behave strangely. His female relatives snatch him out of the way and whisper, "Drunk!" in the same tone they use to warn him of ghosts. He learns to run away when drunks lurch near him and to ignore them completely when they accost him; sometimes he witnesses brawls or other violence. By the time he is five, he has probably developed a strong fear of drunkenness, but he views it as something to be expected at a fiesta. He is unconcerned with it as a moral issue. That concern, as discussed in Part III of this study, will come later. 867

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868 fields during planting or harvest, they doubtless learn something of agricultural procedures. However, a few boys who are exceptionally large and strong have a regular share of the farm work by the time they are ten.

The precise age at which a boy or girl begins to assume regular duties varies according to his own inclination and the family situation. The Papago believe that, just as the baby learns to walk and talk when he is ready, the older child will learn to work and need not be mercilessly prodded. Some families who feel that their children should become industrious at an early age carry on the training more intensively. Others are impelled to do so by the need for additional help in a short-handed household.

861 Characteristically, Papago children learn mainly by imitation, without explanation by adults and without asking many questions. As mentioned in chapter i, direct question and answer is not the Papago way of acquiring or giving information; hence the Papago child is not encouraged to ask how to do things. For example, in learning to cook, the little girl tries to do what she has seen her mother doing. Adults give little, if any, assistance to the novice, but they watch her closely and make it clear that they are pleased if she succeeds. Direct praise, however, is seldom given.

[885] Though the Papago do not tell the child *how* to do things, they explain at length *why* he should do them. They impress upon him that only by willing obedience can he become an honest, industrious, and kind man—the sort of person who is respected in Papago society. To get a child to do as they wish, parents say that they “just talk to him, and he does it.” If he fails to comply, they lecture him further, tell him people will think he is lazy, or “talk hard” (scold). Beyond this, most parents say that they “do nothing.” One mother expressed some irritation by saying, “What can I do? He runs away in the brush!” Such behavior provokes adults to momentary exasperation, but continued evasion does not heap adverse judgment on the guilty one or cause his parents alarm; he is still a child, and his disobedience is excusable on that basis. The most adults do to remind him of his shortcomings is to contrast his behavior with another child’s: “Dorothy is good help all the time. Even if she’s smaller, she’s better help than Helen. I don’t know why Helen doesn’t like housework.” By and large, however, children do their share of the work and do it without much pressure.

PLAY ACTIVITIES

● 857 As he nears ten, the Papago child’s leisure time gradually decreases, for the increasing number of younger children pushes him more and more into a supervisory role. Though he begins to be a working member of the family

THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN

earlier than is usual among many white groups, nevertheless the Papago child still has a good deal of time for play. 857 ●

Siblings and cousins of the same sex and approximate age from two or three neighboring households usually play together. Boys are free to roam the village and fields, but little girls must play near a habitation and can go from house to house only under the watchful eye of adults. At home brother, sister, and cousins often play together, but elsewhere boy-and-girl groups are seldom seen.

In play groups there is little quarreling. The older boys or girls make decisions together, and the smaller ones abide by them. Older children try to settle differences with their juniors peaceably; by so doing, they can get their own way at least part of the time, as they seldom would if every difference were taken to the elders. Even the boys rarely quarrel violently; a good deal of scuffling and wrestling goes on but few real fights. If a quarrel does occur in village play groups of either sex, the children go to their homes and stay until the incident is forgotten. 857 578

Interest in the old Papago games—shinny for the girls, racing and kickball for the boys—has waned. Occasionally children play the stick game when they are at the saguaro camp, but they must ask older people what the rules are. Despite their rapid disappearance, the sports of former days have not been replaced by American games. Children in the eastern districts play baseball, football, and basketball at school, but such games are less frequent in the West. Jackstones is popular among little girls all over the Reservation (probably because it resembles an old Indian game for girls),¹ while little boys play marbles. 857

Purchased toys have not become a part of the Papago child's life. Boys sometimes have coaster wagons or toy automobiles, and girls ordinarily have a doll or two from the store when they are little, but interest in such toys is never very great, and they are abandoned by most children past the age of eight. [439]

Most often children amuse themselves with toys or games created from things at hand, odds and ends picked up in the yard. Boys are especially adept at this; a child may amuse himself for an hour with a band of inner tubing, seeing what strange noises or shapes he can produce with it. Boys make sling-shots and aim at targets or take turns pitching knives, and they fashion rough figurines from moistened desert soil. Much of their play is imitative: they dance, sing, and play imaginary musical instruments at a make-believe fiesta; they play cowboy with sticks and bits of rope. Probably the latter motif predominates, for every boy wants to be a cowboy. If a horse is corraled near the

1. See Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, p. 146.

THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN

house, they will spend hours playing around it, patting it, and leading it about. A boy of this age is delighted if someone gives him a wide-brimmed hat, a bright silk shirt, high-heeled boots, or any other part of a cowboy's regalia.

Little girls' play is also imitative. They enjoy the rag dolls made by mother or grandmother, and they are often seen playing house in a corner of the yard, out of the way of the women at work but within sight and call. Girls over eight are usually with the older women. Sometimes they help or run errands, but, even when not working, they prefer to stay near by, joining in the women's conversation now and then, while they amuse themselves by dressing each other's hair with ribbons, looking at snapshots or illustrated magazines, or perhaps playing records on the phonograph.

Dogs, horses, and cattle, which can bring sickness, according to Papago belief, are nevertheless played with freely, and all children play with the family dog. Papago dogs, kept as workers, not as pets, are usually large enough to scare the coyotes away from the house, but they are thin and underfed because as a rule they must forage for themselves. Adults are sometimes fond of them, but ordinarily they are kicked about and handled roughly. Kindness to animals is undeveloped among the Papago, perhaps (as Underhill has suggested), because animals have magic power and therefore have no need of special consideration by men.² The attitude of children toward animals reflects that of adults; they play with the dog often but are unconcerned if some trick of theirs hurts him. The adults themselves appear to be amused at the child's ingenuity and the animal's efforts to escape.

By the time children are five they need no longer be warned against handling wild animals, living or dead, for they know that disease will surely come as a result. They stay away from animal burrows and show little curiosity about the wild creatures of the desert.

Perhaps the most exciting play that the child knows comes at the fiesta. In the western districts children attend four or five celebrations a year, most of them outside their own villages. In Baboquivari fewer fiestas are given, and children do not so often attend those in other villages. As soon as the family arrives at the dance ground, the child leaves his parents to join a group of his own age and sex and returns to his mother only when he is hungry or sleepy.

Boys of five through ten seldom join in the dancing. They play around the dance ground, pretending to be cowboys, scuffling and shouting much as they would at home. Hearing the music, watching the dancers, and keeping out of the way of drunks adds to the excitement.

Little girls often start the dancing and are on the dance ground with one

2. Ruth Underhill, *Singing for Power*, p. 49.

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- 857 another much of the evening. At other times they sit on the benches, watching
527 all that goes on and chatting merrily with their friends. When they grow tired, they join some of their female relatives in the church for a nap.

MODESTY AND SEX TRAINING

- 864 As indicated earlier, Papago boys and girls of five to ten usually work and play separately. But brothers and sisters or males and females of this age do not avoid one another. When siblings of opposite sex occasionally join forces, they play freely, even to wrestling together for the possession of some desired object. Brothers, sisters, and cousins may roam from one house to another in mixed groups, but couples are not seen alone, even though they are siblings.

Children of five to ten have already developed great modesty about their bodies. A person secludes himself in a room of the house to bathe, and no one enters until he is re clothed. Papago undress only partially for sleeping, so that brothers and sisters sleeping together or in the same room do not expose the genitals. Children scatter behind separate bushes to urinate. Little girls at play are careful to keep their skirts down and pull their dresses well around their legs when they sit on the ground, lest they be teased for immodesty. (Surprisingly enough, when they are scuffling with their brothers, they seem unmindful of their skirts.) Boys playing together are not so shy of exposing themselves and will swim nude in the *charco* or horse tank.

- [831] There is no indication that children of this age group are introspective about sex. Sexual intercourse as a part of adult life can scarcely be unknown to them in view of Papago sleeping arrangements, and they all understand the function of pregnancy. Whether adults try to impart sex knowledge to children or they merely pick it up from what they see or hear is not known. Quite probably the latter is the case, since Papago children are trained not to ask questions and verbal explanation (except by way of lectures on virtue) is not a Papago teaching method. There is opportunity for children to acquire sex knowledge casually, for jokes and allusions to reproductive processes are rife in everyday conversation. Nor is sex spoken of only among adults; female relatives, for example, sometimes tease fat little girls by saying that they are pregnant.

THE CHILD IN HIS HOME

- 855 The Papago child of five to ten is usually happy in his home relations. In this period the mother shares with the grandmother the dominant position in the lives of her children. The mother assigns to each child his household tasks and does much of the persuading, arguing, or scolding that is necessary. But she is also responsible for the child's happiness, and he can expect indul-

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872 tremely shy with her in the beginning, staring soberly at her when addressed, sitting at his desk without moving, and following the example of others when response is expected of him. He resents any physical contact with the teacher and shrinks away if she leans over to help him or puts a friendly hand on his shoulder. In a fairly short time, however, his shyness decreases; he talks in Papago to the other children in front of the teacher, speaks up when reciting, and sometimes even begs to be "next." When the child relaxes into the fun-loving little person he ordinarily is, he frequently becomes noisy and has to be asked to be quiet. He does so, momentarily at least, and takes the rebuke as a matter of course. Ordinarily he minds the teacher rather well. Little girls spend a good deal of their free time with the teacher, watching her every move with curiosity, trying to talk with her, and always beaming at any attention.

SICKNESS AND HEALTH

753 Long before he is five years old, the Papago child knows and fears sickness.⁷
 857 He has already learned that contacts with animals and with ghosts appearing in animal form may make him ill. Now he is taught that his own bad thoughts may also bring sickness (see chap. vi), and he has also learned to fear the power of the "bad" medicine man or witch.

755 In time of illness attributed to any of these causes, the child has implicit faith
 957 in the "good" medicine man, for the shaman is often someone he knows or even a relative. The youngster has no fear of him, although he does stand in some awe of the medicine man's power to communicate with the terrifying animals and ghosts. During this age period the shaman does not perform over the child any rite similar to the birth or puberty ceremonies, but he becomes a familiar and trusted figure.

857 To the school doctor and nurse, however, the child's reaction is very differ-
 759 ent. When he undergoes a physical examination at school each year, he is
 601 liable to be very frightened; he does not like to be touched by the white medicine man, and he resents being even partially disrobed. The teacher knows this and tries to fortify him while he is being examined. After several visits of the doctor or nurse,⁸ the youngster becomes somewhat accustomed to them and, if not undressed, will submit to examination with no show of nervousness except extreme quiet. He will allow external medicines to be used on him and will take cough syrup, and sometimes he asks the teacher to clean or bandage a sore or cut.

7. For discussion of the health of Papago children see chap. xii.

8. Doctors come to the school once a month, nurses semimonthly.

THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN

THE CHILD AND THE CHURCH

The Papago child of five to ten participates in church services chiefly as a listener. Among both Sonora and Roman Catholics, small children carry candles and *santos* in the religious processions which precede the dancing at fiestas, but this requires no special training. 857
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Sonora Catholic children accompany the older women of the household to the church when they go once a week to burn candles, sing, and pray, but the youngsters play outside the church most of the time and come in only occasionally to listen or to sleep. Little girls try to sing the Spanish hymns, and frequently they have learned a few by the time they are ten years old. The boys come to the church less often as they grow older, and they seldom learn hymns.

Roman Catholic children in the western districts see a priest only once or twice a year, when he comes to say Mass and to proselytize. Since the missionary wishes to establish good relations in order to facilitate his work, he is friendly and informal with both children and adults; he may even help the family harvest a crop or do some other farm work. Between his visits, the Roman Catholics of Hickiwan District conduct their own services in the same manner as their Sonora Catholic neighbors, and the children have the same unimportant roles.

In the eastern districts, where there are Roman Catholic churches and priests to conduct services regularly, children go to Mass with their parents. When they are about nine or ten, they begin going to confession. A few youngsters serve as altar boys and spend a good deal of time in services or instruction. Priests maintain a rather formal relationship with their parishioners, and children seldom are on familiar terms with them; the sisters teaching in the mission schools are also rather distant in their attitude toward the children.

Children of Presbyterian families go with the adults to church. Although taking no part in the service, they sit quietly and appear attentive to the preacher. They like to go with their families to the annual camp meeting at Sells, where they can be with other children and enjoy the music and emotional fervor of the revival.

THE CHILD'S HORIZON WIDENS

When the child is between five and ten, his horizon widens greatly. If he goes to school, he meets children from other villages, and at the fiestas he sees relatives of all ages who live in near-by communities. Since the western villages are smaller and fewer and fiestas draw crowds from greater distances than in the East, the western child comes to know (if only by sight) nearly 857
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THE DESERT PEOPLE

857 every person in six or eight villages by the time he is ten. Intervillage visiting
 574 is not quite so commonplace in the East. Hence, although every Baboquivari
 609 child has relatives in nearly every village in the district, he may see some of
 them rarely or not at all. In both East and West a family with a car will occa-
 sionally visit villages a long way from their own.

857 During this age period the child probably has his first meaningful contacts
 609 with white people. Children in western Hicikiwan meet the white tradeswo-
 man when they are still very young; since she speaks Papago and hands out
 treats to the children, they enjoy visits to her store.

Government employees other than teachers, doctors, and nurses are seldom
 seen by children of this age in the western districts. Because the villages are so
 remote and for years many westerners showed great antipathy to government
 policies, Agency representatives went to Hicikiwan and Gu Vo very rarely. In
 recent years the situation has been changing, but official visits are still few. To
 western children the coming of the white men from Sells is a novel and ex-
 citing event, but youngsters who formerly fled indoors to peer out at the visi-
 tors with awe and some fear now slip outside the house to stare with avid
 curiosity.

On the other hand, in Baboquivari and Sells districts, Agency cars and
 trucks are an inevitable part of the landscape, children see government em-
 ployees almost every day, and tribal council debates and court proceedings are
 common gossip. All the children have been in the town of Sells many times
 and have some understanding of the Agency as the center of Reservation
 activities. The visit of an official to an eastern home is almost as exciting as it
 is in Hicikiwan or Gu Vo, but it causes much less apprehension.

The white people whom Papago children meet on the Reservation are
 almost all adults. In Sells the children of white government employees go to
 the public school, which is part of the Arizona county school system, and they
 do not play much with Indian children. However, Papago children are
 friendly to the white child they meet on their own ground. At Hicikiwan Vil-
 lage in 1942-43 the teacher's eight-year-old son attended the Indian day school.
 He was easily accepted into the play group of lads his own age, and some who
 lived near by often came to see him after school. The two-year-old son of a
 field worker for this study lived with an Indian family, spent most of his play
 time with Papago children, and spoke more of their language than his own.

When the Papago child goes off the Reservation with his family to work, he
 meets people of other races and nationalities.⁹ His contacts with them are
 casual and largely impersonal, but they leave a lasting impression. If his family
 goes to the Salt River Valley cotton fields or truck farms, he associates with

9. The relations of adult Papago to other ethnic groups are discussed in chap. vii.

THE CHILD FROM FIVE TO TEN

Pima Indians; he may be related to some of them. Yaqui Indians, with whom Papago do not mingle so freely, also work there. The child may see Negroes working in the fields or perhaps colored troops stationed near Ajo, but the Papago consider "the black ones" social inferiors and do not associate with them. [186]

Mexicans are encountered in many towns near the Reservation. They live near or among Papago who are working in town, and the child may be taken into Mexican stores. But the average Papago child's most memorable contacts with Mexicans occur on the annual pilgrimage to the church of San Francisco in Magdalena. The two-hundred-and-fifty-mile trip is the longest which many Papago children ever make, and they enjoy it to the utmost. The days of preparation are busy ones for the child, who runs many errands and keeps the babies out of the way of hard-working adults. On the way the family may pass through Sells and Tucson and perhaps have a little time to look into the stores. Magdalena itself is a paradise for the child. The booths with their bright clothes, strange foods, and fascinating knickknacks, the crowds in the plazas, the music in the bars and streets—all fascinate him. The blessing received by kissing the statue of St. Francis, he is taught to believe, is worth the long wait in the crowded cathedral, for it is his most powerful safeguard of good health throughout the coming year. [75]

More frequent are trips to towns near the Reservation. Children from the eastern districts go infrequently to Tucson, and all the children from the western villages studied have been in Ajo many times. Nearly all the westerners and many from the East visit the homes of relatives working at the Ajo copper mine. In town Papago children love to go to the movies and buy comic magazines, even though they do not understand English. They spend a few cents for candy and stand about the streets watching all the people, particularly the strange whites. As at the fiestas, little girls stay close to the women, but boys run about by themselves.

For years, school children of the western districts have gone to the municipal Christmas Eve celebration in Ajo. They travel in the school bus and on arrival run about the town square. A uniformed band plays near the huge decorated trees in the park; there is a parade, with Santa Claus in a sleigh, and treats of candy and fruit for everyone. The youngsters enjoy it all, but they usually skip the parade and other preliminaries to establish themselves in line to receive candy. They are not shy and will push as hard as Mexican or white children to get to the front and enter the line a second or third time to get more candy. It does not occur to them that this might be unsportsman-like; the candy is being given away, and the youngsters assume that they are welcome to all they can eat. To them this is a whiteman's fiesta, and at a fiesta the host always says, "Come in and eat; eat all you want." They do. [576]

524 The game of hidden ball was played by hiding a wild bean (*Phaseolus acutifolius*) in one of four tubes of cane variously marked in red and blue. All the tubes were filled with sand and the guesser had to determine which of them held the bean. Or the bean might be hidden in one of four mounds of sand. The "chips" for keeping score were corn kernels. The Papagos also played the "hand game" in which the members of one side hold sticks of two or more colors in their closed fists and the members of the other guess their position. The sticks were two-inch lengths of creosote bush, natural white or blackened with soot.

The ring and pin game was played with a ten-inch length of creosote bush as the pin. To its butt end was attached an eighteen-inch buckskin thong, on which were strung eight discs of dried pumpkin rind about three inches in diameter with an inch-wide hole in the middle. The game was to throw up the rings and, as they came down, run the point of the stick through as many as possible.

526 Dried pumpkin had another use, half play and half
541 ceremonial. When one village was challenging another to games, two heralds came ahead of the main party. It was the custom of the challenged village to run the heralds out of town after their announcement by pelting them with dried pumpkin peduncles. This may have been symbolic of a war challenge.

526 Papago children played cat's cradle with lengths of
857 agave fiber and cotton string. They made dolls of leaves stuck together with twigs, or sometimes of deer bones dressed in scraps of buckskin.

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Children played under mother's watchful eye . . . in the forest of cotton stalks . . .



or alone at the edge of the field . . .

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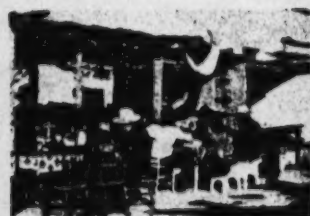
with Anglo, Mexican-American (and Negro) children . . .



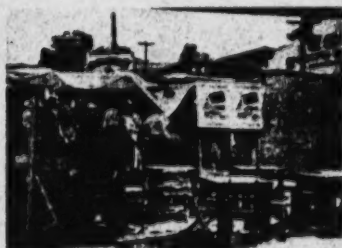
or alone in the camp.

*Magdalena*527
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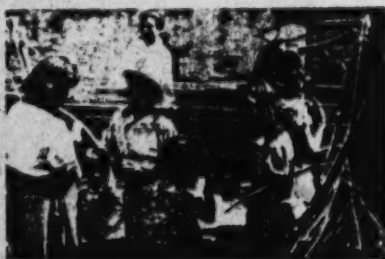
Papago pilgrims watched Yaqui and Mayo
dancers fascinated . . . paid them hard-earned
U. S. coin . . .



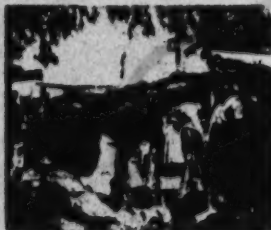
ate in sidewalk restaurants . . .



and drank Mexican beer . . . mes-
cal . . . tequila . . . in the sidewalk
bars . . .

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bought watermelons . . . boiled green
corn . . . sugar cane . . .

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even youngsters . . .



and passed out . . . to be helped home . . .
before the police came.